Washington on the Rocks *Murray Kempton*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

GUANTANAMO
Mark S. Watson

Vietnam — How Much Time?
Bernard B. Fall

De Gaulle's Soliloquy
Louis J. Halle

Intruding on Bergman
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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Who Can Beat Johnson?

★ The only man who can beat Lyndon Johnson is Lyndon Johnson. He has begun well. Congress, sobered by Kennedy's death and by the almost universal denunciation of legislative inactivity, is finally moving. Tax cut and civil rights bills are advancing and Mr. Johnson has deftly dropped medicare into the hopper. The House passed civil rights, 290-130, a really fine majority, bound to discourage Senate segregationists.

On the foreign scene a host of minor crises arise but no nuclear one. From desperation, perhaps, GOP candidates are raising their dreary muezzin ululation, "Soft on Communism!", which nobody takes very seriously. They have no real issue, but maybe they can work up a personality attack. Will the President aid this?

Yes, he may. It is he who can give a handle to his enemies. We don't mean the artless business of saving money at the White House by turning off lights, nor the order to department heads to hire 50 women for top jobs in 30 days.

What we mean is a kind of heavy-handedness in dealing with critics, and oversensitivity. Doubtless it comes from insecurity. It would have been better to ignore the Republican sniping on foreign policy rather than to attack the "bellyachers," and to observe, "God forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Most reporters here believe that the White House, somehow or other, was responsible for leaking material from confidential files to Drew Pearson in an effort to discredit insurance man Don Reynolds, the No. 1 witness in the Bobby Baker case. Even if Reynolds is discredited, where does it leave the President? As Senator he dealt with Reynolds; he bought $200,000 worth of life insurance through the Reynolds firm of which Baker, then a Johnson protégé, was a silent partner. We wish that Mr. Johnson right at the start of this affair had simply said, "It was five years ago. I made a mistake." But these are hard words to utter. White House aides volunteered or made direct approaches to three publications in an effort to have them alter or suppress articles based on the Reynolds' testimony, Cabell Phillips wrote in the *NYTimes* in a damaging story February 8. There are few better ways of aiding your opponents.

In New Hampshire

★ Last week we got up to New Hampshire with Goldwater. There are two sure ways of recognizing the border these days. There is a big billboard with the smiling face of Rockefeller. And there is the immediate appearance of the *Manchester Union Leader* with a front page editorial by publisher William Loeb. On the day TRB arrived the editorial asked, "The US is on a toboggan slide of appeasement. . . . What kind of cowardly slobs have we become?" Next day Loeb denounced Nixon's "cry-baby statement issued after his defeat." Loeb, ardent supporter of Barry, calls Rockefeller "a wife swapper" (Loeb himself is divorced and remarried), and has referred to Eisenhower as "that stinking hypocrite."

At the "Joy Bar" bus station at Manchester, N.H., we stayed our hunger with a specialty of the house, a sandwich called a "grinder." Mr. Pickwick would have whipped out his notebook in a minute at this interesting item. A grinder is the size of a small touch football. It is full of bologna, onions, pepper, pickle, and nearly raw meat. It left us thirsty all afternoon. It tasted like a William Loeb editorial.

We can think of only one word for our New Hampshire whirl with Goldwater, astonishment. Was it possible that we heard what our ears told us? "Talk tough to the world; send the Marines into Cuba!" The confusing thing about trigger-happy Barry is that he does not rant. He uses few oratorical devices. He speaks quietly, conversationally, pleasantly. The meaning tends to slip past, and then you do a startled double-take. Did he really say that? The audiences were small, friendly and enigmatic. At Exeter Academy an official ordered two students to discard a homemade placard: "Thinking less? Enjoying it more? Vote for Barry – In Sixty-four!"

Our Yahoos

★ Six teachers at the University of Ghana were fired last week, including four Americans, because the authorities didn't like what they were teaching. Editorials here were properly contemptuous of this barbaric act. Down in Austin meanwhile, the University of Texas gave an example of the nobler standards of our civilization. The Regents rewarded Darrell Royal with lifetime tenure as a full professor and increased his salary $4,000 to $24,000 for coaching the Longhorns to the national football championship last year. They specifically provided that Royal shouldn't teach anything. The American Association of University Professors gives Texas a "C" rating on its salary scale; full professors (that is, the kind that teach) can struggle up to $13,700, including fringe benefits, in the oil state. How enviously the guardians of the intellect must look at football coaches! It makes one wonder sometimes which kind of Yahoo really confuses the values of youth more, the African in Ghana, or the Regent in Texas.

★ *Notes in passing:* A Louis Harris poll on Catholic attitudes to birth control reports that rank-and-file Catholics, by better than three to two, would like to see their Church remove the ban on the use of contraceptives. Last year an eminent Catholic gynecologist, Dr. John Rock, in his book, *The Time Has Come,* argued that revision of the official attitude is overdue and inevitable. Population doubles every 20 years in Catholic Central America, making the poor a prey to the Church's mortal enemy, Communism. Can the Church somehow change its position as it did in regard to interest on loans, which it opposed for centuries?

Philip M. Stern's *The Great Treasury Raid* makes understandable the outrageous loopholes in the United States income tax.

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When Skies Are Grayer

On the 11th of February President Johnson seized on an otherwise unmemorable occasion to think out loud about world problems. The Internal Revenue Service field officers who came to the White House and unexpectedly found themselves the recipients of those random confidences may well have regarded the whole episode as uneasily inexplicable. The President of the United States always has a larger audience than the one he is immediately addressing. Literally the whole world wants to know how this new chief of the most powerful nation on earth thinks about foreign affairs. What he had to say last week did little to enlighten them. The tone was vaguely reassuring; to the President's great credit, he does not panic easily, he is no sabre-rattler. But the substance was rather thin. The President remarked that he had seen times when skies were grayer; he contrasted criticisms of US policy by Americans whom he called "bellyachers" with the respect and appreciation which, he insisted, foreigners have for the US. America the Well-beloved is a gratifying concept, though less serviceable as an assumption for policy than the truth. At least some of the foreigners who are supposed to hail us are, at the moment, thinking quite different thoughts. Like the homegrown bellyachers, they are uneasy about Mr. Johnson's handling of the relatively minor international upsets that he has thus far had to deal with. If mountains are made of molehills, what will he make of mountains? When the skies do get grayer again – and it is in the nature of foreign affairs that they will – how will Mr. Johnson weather the storms? How for instance would he handle a meeting with Khrushchev? He referred with evident distaste to the Vienna confrontation that Mr. Kennedy had with the Soviet Premier in the first months of the late President's Administration. How will he prevent disengagement in Southeast Asia from becoming a disaster? How would he handle a missile crisis in Cuba, to which he also referred? On the latter, he gave no clues for, though he said that "the Cuban situation is being worked out," he did not explain what that might possibly mean. The general effect was one of brassy confidence, abounding goodwill, the glad hand and the resounding platitude. Foreigners may not have one word that sums all this up. Americans do. Our word for it is corn.

Compare this with actual US foreign policy, and take first what the President evidently regards as the smallest gray cloud in his sky, the dispute with Panama about the future of the Canal and the status of the Canal Zone. American public opinion may oppose tampering with

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either, but if so it is misinformed and needs enlightenment for time is eroding both. The Canal is becoming obsolete and needs to be supplemented, and it is in the highest degree unlikely that the US can negotiate for a new canal – wherever it may be dug – on the basis of a treaty with no termination date. One task of the Administration is therefore to prepare the public for inevitable changes. Instead, there is tough talk of the US standing on the rock of the existing 61-year-old treaty and refusing to negotiate with a Panamanian pistol at its head. But it is not a rock at all, it is quicksand. Why is it assumed that if we once consent to enter into meaningful discussions about real changes, we shall be tricked into defeat? In fact, Panama can lose heavily from inevitable change as well as gain; each side has a pistol at the other's head.

Cuban Fishermen

The quarrel with Castro is repeatedly reduced to bathos, and the affair of the Cuban fishermen caught trolling off the Dry Tortugas islands is no exception. It's the red snapper season, and the Cubans had given advance notice that fishing boats would be approaching US waters. According to the captains of the four boats (and supported by one of the defecting crewmen), a sudden storm had been announced on the radio. "We went near," said one of the captains, "but I didn't know we would have to go inside." That excuse may or may not hold up (Cuba has officially made no such claim). Nevertheless, there is always a large degree of *laissez-faire* between nations insofar as fishing rights are concerned. In this instance, the boats were kept on Coast Guard radar and boarded under a federal statute that forbids foreigners to fish within three miles of US territory. But the prohibition contains no sanctions. So after consultation between the Coast Guard and the State Department, the boats and their crews were handed over to the state of Florida for prosecution under Florida state laws. Thereupon, Fidel Castro cut off the water supply of Guantanamo, which all this time has been buying its water from him. (In the same week Castro authorized Cuban paeans in honor of Abraham Lincoln.) There is one report that the Cuban fishermen were really spying on the CIA, which is said to occupy an old pirate's castle in the Dry Tortugas, whence it sends spies into Cuba. Is it any wonder that foreigners find the saga of the United States and Cuba almost as ridiculous as the plot of some comic opera by Gilbert and Sullivan?

The Johnson Administration intends to continue trying to pressure the British, the Spaniards and others into stopping all trade with Castro, thereby imposing new strains on the Western alliance and strengthening the ties between Castro and his own people. It is a foolish policy. British commerce with Cuba, in spite of British buses, has in fact sharply declined. But the US apparently wants it cut off altogether, as a point of principle (though Americans are quick to tell the Panamanians they ought to cease talking principles and discuss specifics). Further, Washington opposes its allies giving long-term loans to Russia, on the ground that these will help the Soviet economy, which in the opinion of the Administration on the advice of the CIA is bad – but sales of US wheat to Russia are, somehow, different. Castro is on no account to have business done with him – except when he sells us water. It's wicked to overthrow non-Communist governments – but the US supplies the Latin American military with the guns, tanks and training all of which are useful in staging *coups*. Aggression is intolerable, especially when it is by guerrillas infiltrated into someone's country – but Sukarno must not be dealt with too harshly, for his guerrillas are not Communists (yet). What are America's allies expected to make of this hodgepodge, and how are they to square it with President Johnson's bluff generalizations about all the troubles being little ones, and making allowances for the other fellow?

While the British writhe under demands about Cuba and resentfully await probable strictures from Washington when British Guiana again boils over, the West Germans despite recent blandishments in Texas seem disposed to follow the French not the American lead regarding China; which is to say they look with favor on the old American notion of open doors. President Johnson has reaffirmed that the US is not pulling out of Southeast Asia. The relevant question now, however, is not whether we "pull out," but under what conceivable circumstances would it be prudent to withdraw. The Viet-Cong in South Vietnam have suggested peace talks but coupled this to the impossible "minimum" condition that all US forces and equipment are removed. This need not mean there can be no settlement of the civil war there; rather it indicates there is a chance of one. What prevents bargaining is that the South Vietnamese government despite its half-million men and strong US support does not seem able even to hold its own, not because of unbearably heavy pressure from North Vietnam but because popular enthusiasm is lacking. For the President to say that the US is staying bypasses the chief riddle, which is how the American presence in Southeast Asia can be used to breathe life into regimes that command popular support. If that can't be done, then any arrangement that is made will break down when we leave.

One need not wait for history's judgment. The world is judging Mr. Johnson's stewardship day by day. Its judgment will be kinder when the domestic war on poverty is coupled with an attack on the clichés that blind us to a true view of foreign affairs.

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Roots of Negro Militancy

Atlanta

There were two new elements in the recent Atlanta demonstrations of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee ("Snick"). One was the use of non-violent techniques like fasting and sitting in front of police vehicles. The other was the anxiety to identify with the Negro working class. The student movement of 1960-61 consisted of middle-class young people. Silence on the picket line, "proper" dress, dignity and fluency in the courtroom made a favorable impression on public opinion. The demonstrator by his acceptable behavior made visible his readiness to enter the white middle-class world. Since that time "Snick" has deliberately attempted to reach beyond the middle-class. Its organizers have sought out the hard-core Black Belt counties in southwest Georgia and the Mississippi Delta and they share the poverty of those they work among.

In the Atlanta demonstrations "Snick" approached an urban community with a militancy learned in Albany, Ga., and Greenwood, Miss. It went out to organize people who were so badly off that they could scarcely go anywhere but up. When the UN subcommittee on the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities visited Atlanta at the height of the recent picketing, "Snick" greeted it with a leaflet describing "Buttermilk Bottom," a slum in the heart of the city where 16,000 Negroes live amid unpaved streets and uncollected garbage. The leaflet concluded: "As long as we are in a country that feeds the hungry of the world and stores its excess food in a fleet on the Hudson River, then we cannot forget our own poor or leave slums to be profited from by landlords." The same awareness of poverty as the core of segregation was shown in SNCC support for the demands of unemployed miners in Kentucky, and its attention to housing problems in Washington, D. C.

One of my students put this changing conception of the task of the civil rights movement in a more personal way. "When I came to college," she said, "my goal was a big house in the suburbs." A visit to the SNCC office led to her increasing involvement and, in the last week of January, to jail.

STAUGHTON LYND

According to Hoiles

Lima is a city in northwestern Ohio with a population of about 100,000. It has one newspaper, the *News*, owned by Raymond Cyrus Hoiles, 85, who, in the 13 small city dailies he runs, preaches against such socialistic innovations as the Federal Reserve System, child-labor laws, tax-supported highways, unions, libraries and churches that concern themselves with social problems. Most of all, Hoiles detests public schools, which he feels are not in harmony with the Ten Commandments and can no more teach moral values "than a house of prostitution can teach chastity." He believes that "the most harmful person in most every community is the superintendent of compulsory education," and has been known to say: "A house of prostitution is voluntary; a grade school is not."

Shortly after Hoiles purchased the *News* in 1956 he frowned on a fund drive for a convalescent home because some federal money was going to be used. Then he led a campaign against fluoridation, helped to defeat a project for a municipal parking lot that was to have been financed through a bond issue, and opposed another bond issue to build a new library. At this point the people of Lima, whose politics generally tend to be moderate Republican, had had about enough of Hoiles. They turned out in large numbers to give their approval of the bond issue for the construction of the library. A sign was stuck up over the *News* office that said, "Hoiles, Go Home!"

"Everything possible had been done to alienate every single group in town since Hoiles took over," one businessman remembers. "The Hoiles people couldn't have done a much better job if it had been planned this way." Wayne Current, a *News* display advertising salesman, announced he was forming a "Lima-owned, Lima-edited and Lima-dedicated" newspaper. Nearly 1,000 residents bought $25 stock certificates, and with a capitalization of $350,000 and 22,000 subscribers, the *Lima Citizen* newspaper went to press during the summer of 1957.

The *News*' circulation dropped from 35,000 to 15,000; merchants switched their ads to the *Citizen*. After two unprofitable years the *Citizen* edged out of the red. It showed a $56,000 profit in 1961-62. But Hoiles lured back advertisers with low rates and special benefits. His editorial staff was enlarged; a Sunday supplement and television booklet added to the *News* package. His editorial pages became surprisingly mild. The paper owned by a man who considers public schools "wicked and un-Christian" ran pictures portraying the activities of the schools in Lima.

The *Citizen's* publishers went to the nine leading citizens for a public endorsement that would renew community interest in their paper and hopefully retrieve lost advertising, but the town's rebellion was over. The men refused to help. They considered two newspapers in Lima an inconvenience. It was an added expense for advertisers and forced the residents to choose sides. "We had to stay neutral," one of them said. The *Citizen* folded and once again Hoiles has the place all to himself.

VAN G. SAUTER

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The Feeling of Youth

Washington, D. C.

The Beatles are a semi-pro group out of Liverpool said to be worth $17 million a year on the strength of their one act which rouses memories of the Nairobi Trio. The Nairobi Trio were three gorillas who used to appear on television playing one simple little tune over and over again. Occasionally one gorilla would peer mindlessly at another.

Snow spoiled a plan to motorcade the Beatles through the capital streets last week. They arrived late at the Coliseum for a pre-concert press conference, showing little effect from the siege at Union Station where small shrieking girls climbed up on the iron gates to evade police who tried to hold them back, then fought fiercely among themselves for the honor of touching a Beatle.

At the press conference Mr. Brian Somerville introduced the Beatles like a reverent BBC commentator announcing Princess Margaret's arrival. "Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much indeed for coming along to see the Beatles. They are a bit over-awed. The reception was very exciting indeed. Now ladies and gentlemen, may I ask you not to ask for autographs. If it does develop into an autograph session it does get out of hand. Well, now I'll bring them down and we'll get on with it."

Fifteen minutes later John Lennon, 23, George Harrison, 21, Paul McCartney, 21, and Ringo Starr, 23, appeared chewing gum. The following exchange between them and the press took place with McCartney doing most of the talking.

Where did you get the name Beatles? I thought of it. Why? Why not.

To John Lennon: What is your wife's reaction to your popularity? She likes it.

Do the boys fight amongst themselves? Only in the mornings. Did you come to America in a spirit of revenge? No, we just came to make money. How long will the Beatles last? As long as you keep coming.

What do you think of President Johnson? We have not met him. What do you think of criticisms that you are not very good? We're not. Is one disc jockey more important than another? Disc jockeys are all important as each other. Is there any chance of your being knighted? No. What are you going to do in Washington? Sleep. Are you afraid of mobs? No, we enjoy them. What is your most exciting experience? Meeting the Queen Mother.

The girls who shriek when they see the Beatles are not very well able to explain why they feel the way they do. "They move me," said one. "They give me a new feeling of youth," said another. "They're cool, man," said a third.

A British correspondent recalls that he is unable to leave his London television studios Friday nights because of dense crowds of moaning women outside waiting for the Beatles, and he recalls the words of a doctor who said this sort of activity was important for young women because it made the pains of pregnancy easier for them when they grew up and got married. J R

CAPITOL HILL

Fun with Guns in the United States Senate

The Senate Commerce Committee recently concluded public hearings on Senator Thomas Dodd's bill to discourage the sale of mail-order firearms to children and criminals. John F. Kennedy's murder notwithstanding, most of the testimony was against restrictions.

Senator Carl Hayden, 86, who began his career as a sheriff and now is second in line for the Presidency, opposed the legislation. Introduced to the committee by a colleague as the "rootinest, tootinest sheriff Arizona ever had," Hayden grabbed a pistol, and brandishing it over his head said, "Who shall I shoot?" He took aim at Senator Strom Thurmond, who gayly ducked down behind the committee bench, pointed the gun at several members of the audience and then gave over to a reading of a statement from Paul Fannin, Governor of Arizona, who appealed to the committee not to be carried away by hysteria. The anti-gun people in the country, he said, had seized upon the Kennedy assassination as the opening wedge in their campaign to disarm people who would then quickly forget the marksmanship needed in times of peril.

Thurman G. Gibson of Bagdad, Arizona, was reflecting the views of many other witnesses when he declared: "To begin, let me say the gun is the standard of freedom in the United States of America." One witness thought the bill was part of a Communist conspiracy. "The Dodd bill represents a further attempt by a subversive power to make us part of one world socialistic government, and this bill owes its birth to the favorable climate generated by too many years of our federal government's socialistic trend," said Dr. William E. Gorder, another Bagdad resident. This was an unkind stab at Senator Dodd, who has impressed most people as very strongly anti-Communist.

The United States is the only country in the world with virtually no firearms control. About 50 million people own guns. As chairman of the Senate juvenile delinquency subcommittee, Senator Dodd has been gathering material for three years. The record shows

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that many mail-order firearms, many of them foreign makes, fall into the hands of adolescents, lunatics, and criminals. President Kennedy was killed with a mail-order weapon.

Senator Dodd's case was tragically strengthened by two little girls in Brooklyn. As they watched the soldiers at the President's funeral rites go through the manual of arms, they took down two rifles from a wall rack and playfully pointed their guns at each other. When one pulled her trigger there was only a click, but when the other did so a blast rocked the room and her sister fell dead.

"Freedom does not come without some effort," Burr D. Marley of Bagdad told the Commerce Committee. "There is a price to pay. Now I think we realize that there is a problem when we own guns. Somebody is going to get shot. Well, this is part of the price that we are going to pay in order to have freedom. And I as an individual am willing to take this chance along with some other things. . . ."

Senator Dodd's bill would require customers to accompany orders for guns with notarized statements of their age (they must be 18) and any record of crime. The dealer would forward a duplicate to the police. Gun dealers would be subject to stiffer regulations, which, hopefully, would put fly-by-night outfits out of business.

In a recent Gallup poll more than 70 percent of Americans favored a stricter course: licensing of all guns. But members of the National Rifle Association who testified felt that Senator Dodd's proposed regulation would be a hardship on honest citizens. Senator Magnusen, chairman of the committee, is against the Dodd bill.

The federal government backs the bill as a minimum effort; the Justice Department wants to ban virtually all mail-order sales of firearms. The Defense Department, however, disposes of its surplus rifles and pistols through the NRA, and it is about as easy to join the NRA and buy a cheap used weapon from the US government as it is to purchase from a mail-order firm – the sort of Italian rifle that was used to murder the President.

So we are left with the ringing words of Ben Avery of the Arizona Rifle and Pistol Club who asked the Senate Commerce Committee: "Have we forgotten Pearl Harbor? Have we forgotten that American chaplain who stood on a pitching destroyer's deck and shouted, 'Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition' as he braved the withering fire of Japanese Zeros? I don't think President Kennedy would want us to forget, and start down the path that disarmed the British people, merely because one enemy bullet finally found him. What a ridiculous monument to his memory!"

James Ridgeway

Washington Cocktail

by Murray Kempton

Shortly before the New Year, Mr. Johnson was said to have ordered all members of his official family to cease traffic with Washington cocktail parties.

"The chuckle of the New Year," Miss Betty Beale, society editor of the *Washington Evening Star*, was able to report two weeks after this momentary flight of apostasy.

"For nobody gets more business done at cocktail parties than Lyndon Johnson and nobody uses them to better advantage. In his first 16 days at the White House he gave two for members of the press and one for the Congress. Guests at each left with a heady new feeling of friendship for the President of the United States and fired with enthusiasm for the President's goals." Miss Beale was reporting on ceremonies conducted in the White House precisely in the middle of a 30-day mourning period.

Washington may be the only city on earth where to serve an official cocktail in such an atmosphere would not evoke murmurs of indignation. That is because Washington is the only city on earth where an historian can identify the occasion as "a cocktail party" and every experienced reader can know at once that no one present ran the smallest risk of enjoying himself.

Since then, Mr. Johnson, freed of inhibitions against blossoming, seems to have shown up everywhere a caterer has been employed, the fresh-wed daughter of some émigré is to be bussed, a doubtful Congressman to be cozened or an aspirant Vice President to be tormented. "The most natural President since Andrew Jackson," Miss Beale tells us. He has not merely revived the Washington social *ronde;* he has even disinterred it.

Perle Mesta is back to tell Miss Beale of her most recent gala: "The huge luncheon she gave in New York Tuesday around the swimming pool of the City Squire Motor Inn for the International Recreational Association and some 15 Olympic coaches from 12 countries." Oriane de Guermantes is home.

Senator Harry Byrd has surfaced. "He's got new life," one Senator's wife told Miss Beale. "The President knows how to make people happy."

"It used to be news when [Senator Byrd] showed up at a party as often as every three years," Miss Beale says. "[Now] he has become a new star for social coverage." New Star Byrd, even while blinking in the sunlight, fits easily into that flow of wit and grace which always leaves her readers assured that Miss Beale has been dining with William Congreve. " 'Senator'," said one of the guests, " 'you're going to bring that tax bill

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out of committee yet'. He smiled. He is no novice at needling."

In brief, Mr. Johnson's infusions of fresh spirit have in no way damaged Washington social life, which was quite beyond repair in any case. For reading Miss Beale, who is plainly conscientious and, under the circumstances of the unfortunate destiny of her evenings, almost lively, it is impossible to believe that any moderately sophisticated woman has been able to sit down at a dinner party in Washington since the indictment of Gaston B. Means without the assurance that her dinner partner will be simply appalling.

Exceptions are made on behalf of the diplomatic colony, but Miss Beale's reports indicate that these are merely desperate. As an instance, Miss Beale was enlivened on her rounds by the spectacle of the new Peruvian Ambassador. "Good-looking, extremely chic, bright and amusing," she decided. She told him that she hoped he would stay as long as his predecessor had and he flashed back: "'I hope so because I like it very much'." This echo of Tallyrand indicates that the most refined art of a diplomat in Washington is to make himself as dull as the natives.

The fact about Washington is that no one in it, however drunk, is anything but sober.

Most newcomers complain that Washington is a company town where the only subject of conversation is the product. But the problem is infinitely more depressing than that. Government, after all, does involve matters which can be subjects of serious conversation elsewhere in the country; but in Washington there is no small talk except politics and no talk of government that is not small. That is why the social pages of the Washington papers have no gossip in them except about great events, which are thereby reduced to gossip.

As an instance, Isabelle Shelton, one of Miss Beale's associates on the *Star*, gaily reports a "stomping" reception at the National Capital Democratic Club at which she came upon Wilbur M. Cohen, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, who stood there, surrounded, no doubt, by writhing and bawling sugar lobbyists, and explained that the President's drive against poverty was "the big sparkle right now."

Miss Beale meets Presidential Adviser and Mrs. McGeorge Bundy at Mr. Johnson's dinner for the Segnis, "Mac smilingly needling the newswomen with: 'If the press will stay out of it [the Panama problem] we'll get this thing settled'."

Ruth Dean of the *Star* goes to the farewell dinner for Secretary of the Air Force Eugene Zuckert and watches the group huddled about Secretary McNamara. "Despite Monday's record snowfall," Miss Dean comforts us, "at least 60 percent of the Pentagon got to work." The Washington social pages complacently report matters which, in the news sections of reasonably alert daily papers, would shriek forth as scandals. Thus, Margaret Chase Smith, at 66, capers about three-foot snowbanks in New Hampshire for no higher purpose than a primary election, and 40 percent of the men and women charged with the safety of the nation stay home on no better excuse than 8 inches of snow, and the Washington social reporters are grateful to the 60 percent who bravely dared.

We are then in a city where the only inescapable duty is the cocktail party. There was a brief moment when the President threatened to destroy this ceremony. And destroy it he would have, because you can no more conduct a cocktail party in Washington without some official presence than you could have held an evening in Stendhal's Rome without inviting a cardinal. But now he is with us again, conscious of – one fears even obsessed with – his duty, and he has called back Perle Mesta and raised Harry Byrd from the deep. The beautifully-appointed women are turning to the lonely men and asking them in their soft voices again what they think are the chances for an education bill this session, and Senator Byrd is dancing with Mrs. Humphrey.

FOREIGN REPORTS

GREAT BRITAIN: *The Bomb Again*

★ After several months in which it looked as if the government had decided it had nothing to gain by making defense an election issue, Sir Alec Douglas-Home has put the hydrogen bomb once more on the political menu. The Prime Minister has said that by preparing to abandon atomic weapons the Labour Party would rob Britain of her place at the top table when matters of nuclear policy were discussed between East and West. While he trusted Americans to come to the aid of Britain in case of attack, Sir Alec felt that some miscalculation by a Communist country might throw even the Americans off guard and so it was important to maintain one's own nuclear defense. Finally, should Britain relinquish her atomic independence, France and China would supplant her because they would get nuclear weapons whatever Britain did.

The Labour Party rejects all those arguments. It reminds Sir Alec that Britain's V-bombers gave her no advantage over the non-nuclear powers when America and Russia moved to the brink of atomic war over Cuba 18 months ago, and that on major questions of atomic rearmament (such as the space race and the anti-missile missile) the US and Russia are reaching agreement without consulting Britain. Moreover, to the extent

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that the focus of negotiation now has shifted to arms control in Europe, non-nuclear Western Germany is developing a special relationship with the US at the expense of nuclear Britain. As for the purely military argument, the Labour Party points out that in a year or two, when the V-bombers are obsolete, Britain will depend entirely on the US for Polaris missiles to make her deterrent credible.

On the other hand, British troops are engaged in limited conventional warfare all over the world and the patent instability of Africa and Asia makes such operations more likely in the future. Already Britain's conventional forces are starved of the modern equipment they need to be fully mobile and effective. The rising costs of nuclear delivery systems will compel Britain to choose between dropping her capacity for conventional intervention outside Europe or dropping her attempt at the fiction of nuclear independence.

Labour feels the very arguments used by Home offer a rationale for West Germany to seek nuclear weapons, an eventuality the party wants very much to prevent. If France goes ahead and builds up an independent nuclear arsenal, Labour feels she will soon learn that the huge cost is not anywhere commensurate with the military or political advantage gained.

EGYPT: *Nasser's Kaleidoscope*

★ The Arab summit conference rearranged the kaleidoscope of Arab politics. Whatever danger there was of an ill-equipped Arab force plunging into Israel because Israel was diverting the waters of the Jordan River seems to have disappeared. The Yemen civil war may be settled peacefully.

Nasser called the heads of Arab states together because Syria had asked Egypt for immediate military support for an attack on Israel. This made little sense to Nasser since his army is still stuck in Yemen; other Arab armies are feeble machines hardly prepared to wage war. Nasser easily persuaded the other Arabs to abandon the idea of war on Israel. Instead they agreed to make reprisals in kind: The headwaters of the Jordan rising in Arab territory will be diverted for Arab use.

Egypt has assured its Arab neighbors that it no longer seeks to export revolution. The long era of subversion, attempted coups and violent radio attack is at an end, or so the Egyptians claim. The domestic opposition in the kingdoms of Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Morocco can no longer look to Cairo for automatic support. Instead, Nasser has inaugurated a period of "peaceful competition" between the various social and political systems now living side by side in the Arab world. He has said, in effect, that he intends to concentrate more of his energies at home so as to turn Egypt into a model society. In March he will conduct a constitutional experiment whereby Egyptians will elect a national assembly, though Egypt will still have a one-party system.

COMING: *an appraisal of what this Congress can and can't do for civil rights.*

The one Arab government with which Nasser is not prepared to coexist peacefully is the Ba'ath regime in Syria led by General Amin al-Hafiz. The general was the only Arab leader Nasser refused to see privately during the Cairo summit meeting, and was virtually ignored by the Egyptian press. Other old enemies were received with effusions of friendship. The inescapable suggestion is that Nasser still hates and fears Ba'ath socialists – incompetent and suicidal though they have proved to be in power – more than any of the "reactionary" kings. He wants to isolate the Ba'ath in Syria – already much weakened by the overthrow of its sister government in Iraq – and if possible to deal it the *coup de grace*. Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, the three hostile states which ring Syria, all responded favorably to Egyptian blandishments in this regard.

Nasser made some headway in patching up relations with Morocco and Saudi Arabia, which he hopes will pave the way for the return home of Egyptian troops in Algeria and Yemen. Agreement was reached with Morocco to restore diplomatic relations severed as a result of Egyptian intervention in the Algerian-Moroccan frontier war last November.

The aging King Saud – recently described as a "blood-sucking tyrant" – was wooed by the Egyptian press and radio and found himself photographed with Nasser in the most friendly postures. Egyptian spokesmen intimated to reporters at the conference that Saudi recognition of the Yemen regime was imminent.

And this could pave the way for a settlement of the Yemen war, but the last word must remain with the Yemenis. No agreement in any way binding on Saudi Arabia or Republican Yemen could be expected to emerge from the brief meeting in Cairo of King Saud and President Sallal – both sick men and to a large extent supplanted by other leaders.

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How Much Time Do We Have in Vietnam?

Fourteen years ago it was asserted that the Saigon regime then in power needed time to organize an effective native government and train an army and militia that could restore order in the villages. To carry out this minimal program was said to require a display of winning strength by South Vietnam's Western allies. The recipe does not seem to have changed. In a Senatorial investigation in 1959, the deputy-chief of the Military Advisory Group in Vietnam asserted that the Viet-Minh guerrillas "were gradually nibbled away until they ceased to be a major menace to the [South Vietnamese] government," and that two territorial Vietnamese regiments were sufficient to cope with them. Today a half-million armed South Vietnamese supported by close to 20,000 Americans barely manage to hold the urban areas and major communication lines.

On January 30, 1963, Admiral Harry D. Felt, the Pacific Commander-in-Chief, said in Washington that the Vietnamese war could be won in three years, and that the Diem regime controlled "about 51 percent of the population" and the "Viet-Cong about eight percent." Considering that there has been no population census in South Vietnam in about 30 years, his precision was astounding; but no one challenged the figures or the methods by which the Admiral had arrived at them at his headquarters in Honolulu.

In the summer of 1963, in articles in the *New York Herald Tribune* an American corps adviser (a colonel) wrote: "What is mobility? Mobility means vehicles and aircraft. You have seen the way our Vietnamese units are armed – 50 radios, 30 or 40 vehicles, rockets, mortars and airplanes. The Viet-Cong have no vehicles and no airplanes. How can they be mobile? Further, there has been no evidence of any increase in the number of Viet-Cong units in the [Mekong] delta even though we expected there would be because our strategy is to sweep them steadily southward and finally corner them. As to weapons loss, a year ago our side was losing 20 percent of its weapons. Now the average for our side is five percent. Further, the delta area under our control is increasing, not spectacularly but steadily."

It is true that the Vietnamese units are armed to the teeth, often with weapons that have not yet become standard equipment in American units. But time and again such units got bogged down in front of a blown-up bridge or by a swamp. The Viet-Cong, carrying their equipment on their backs and capable of covering 30 miles in 24 hours, are not usually stopped by such physical obstacles when they find them in their path.

That the Viet-Cong has markedly increased its hold over the Mekong delta is no longer denied by anyone. Still, that American corps adviser claimed this was part of an intentional plan of sweeping the Viet-Cong from the north to the south. If so, one marvels at planners who deliberately swept hard-core enemy units from a thinly-populated mountain area into a teeming delta close to Saigon where food, civilian support and valuable targets are plentiful. As for the tidbit on weapons losses, if the figures cited were correct (and they were cited again in the Diem regime's *Times of Viet-Nam* of September 15, 1963), then the Viet-Cong captured close to 100,000 weapons in 1961-62 and about 25,000 in 1963. The Viet-Cong, with a reported strength of 30,000 regulars and about 60,000 peasant auxiliaries must be completely overweaponed with American ordnance and hardly in need of Red Chinese and North Vietnamese supplies.

Viet-Cong Strength

Washington's steady silence about the enemy's forces is remarkable, for the European press and even the press in Saigon is quite explicit about them. In the jungle plateau area where the population is sparse and hideouts are plentiful, there are three regular Viet-Cong regiments, numbered 120, 126 and 803, which had fought the French in the same area prior to 1954. In the South Vietnamese lowlands there are some 30 regular Viet-Cong battalions (each with 500 or more men), including a highly mobile, sampan-borne battalion No. 634. In addition there were until recently four battalions of the Hoa-Hao religious sect: Le-Loi, Bay-Dom, 104 and 117. That sect, composed of "fundamentalist" Buddhists, had been at odds with Diem since 1955 and the four sect battalions had held the field both against government troops and the Viet-Cong. The Diem regime ensured that American military advisers were not told when they were faced with non-Communist Hoa-Hao units, and often the latter were caught in a crossfire between the Viet-Cong and Vietnamese regulars. For example, Hoa-Hao Battalion 104 in the spring of 1962 was cornered against the Cambodian border in an operation in which Diem's 7th Division and Viet-Cong Battalion 510 unwittingly joined hands. The surviving Hoa-Hao who were interned in Cambodia were particularly bitter about what they called "collaboration" between Communists and government forces.

"We could see the Americans advising the Vietnamese," Truong Kim Cu, the surviving Hoa-Hao leader told me when I saw him in a Cambodian camp. "One of them was a Negro officer. I am sure they did not know they were firing at anti-Communists." This explains why one of the first public acts of Diem's succes-

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sor, General "Big Minh," was a pilgrimage to the seat of another religious sect, the Cao-Dai, and why those sect forces are now being offered integration in the Vietnamese Army.

The regrouping of the civilian population into fortified hamlets to protect it from Viet-Cong pressure was the cornerstone of the whole counterinsurgency program. It involved displacing close to nine million people, most of whom did not want to be moved. Many were moved before harvesting time, thus losing a crop; others were forced to destroy their own houses, for which the Diem regime paid them $10. It costs, according to official American estimates, at least $56 to build a Vietnamese peasant house. Many villages were created in areas where the people could not make a living; others were indefensible. The strategic hamlet program is in bad trouble in many key areas. Yet last summer the official mythology was that the hamlet program had changed for the better the "security, and even more important the psychology of huge areas of South Vietnam." Has it?

In the *Stars and Stripes* Pacific edition of November 1, 1963, General Paul D. Harkins, the commander of all US troops in Vietnam, and Major-General Charles J. Timmes, chief of the military advisory group, painted a highly optimistic picture of the military effort.

Harkins said that "victory in the sense it would apply to this kind of war [was] just months away." Timmes described the Vietnamese armed forces as "professional as you can get [and] just like the American soldier, they're loyal to their government." By the time that issue of the *Stripes* reached Saigon on November 2, those non-political professionals had just murdered their President, and three months later one faction of the generals overthrew the other.

The latest chapter in this saga was written at the end of January, when Secretary of Defense McNamara testified on a Monday that the situation had worsened in the Mekong delta since last September, but alleged that "this region has traditionally resisted central authority," which is not so. Some of its provinces were traditional centers of government strength. On the following day, feeling that he had painted too black a picture, Mr. McNamara stated that there had been "progress" during the past two weeks. But the day following that the Pentagon reported that the situation had never been as bad: 412 clashes in the past week as against 385 the week before, and a six-month average of 270 per week for the first half of 1963. More recently the Viet-Cong became so bold as to hold a cluster of villages in broad daylight. To dislodge the Viet-Cong, our side pounded the villages to pieces with medium field artillery and napalm, causing the encircled population huge casualties. The Viet-Cong escaped.

Bernard B. Fall

Science as a Servant of Historical Knowledge

In the following article the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, *summarizes a number of ways in which science and science-based technology are now aiding humanistic studies and the arts. The subject was developed more fully in his recent Quillian Lecture at Emory University entitled "The New Boundaries of Reality."*

Scholarship has traditionally been a slow process, especially where translation is required and there are many variants of the texts. Producing each new version of the Bible, beginning with the version authorized by King James, has been a major undertaking. Even with great scholars like Dr. Andrewes, later Bishop of Winchester, who knew some 15 languages including Hebrew, Greek and Latin, a total of 54 scholars worked from 1601 to 1611 to publish the King James version. One man, James Strong, labored 30 years in preparing his complete Concordance of the Protestant Bible which was published in 1894.

Computers are now beginning to lighten this work. Although translation by computer was not far enough along to help with the basic work on the Revised Standard Version, the recently published Concordance to this version was a product of the modern high-speed computer. The Reverend John William Ellison did the job in a little more than two years, using only his regular time off from his duties as rector of the 1,000 member Church of the Epiphany in Winchester, Massachusetts, to direct work at Remington Rand's New York computing center. He thought of this project during his studies at Episcopal Theological School where he found "people with two or three doctor's degrees sitting around cataloguing things on their fingers."

An even more ambitious effort is the work now under way on a concordance of the complete works of St. Thomas Aquinas which run to approximately 13 million words. A library in Italy recently has put all the words in the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas on some 1.6 million punch cards for machine processing. A similar program has been undertaken to study the words of the famous Dead Sea Scrolls. A special card punch had to be devised to punch the cards from right to left, since this is the form in which the Scrolls were written. Before long perhaps the laborious part of translation can be done by computer, and new translations of the Bible into various languages will require only a fraction of the time once needed.

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An impressive array of scientific instruments and methods is now being used in archaeological work. Aerial cameras detect the faint outlines of walls long since demolished; airborne magnetometers ferret out forgotten battlements; measurements of minute bits of carbon establish dates beyond the reach of recorded history. Mummies are submitted to autopsy for a knowledge of ancient diseases or evidence of human foul play. Fossilized grains of pollen give clues to the climatic conditions.

Professor Willard F. Libby of the University of California at Los Angeles, a former member of the Atomic Energy Commission, was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1960 for his contributions to the exact study of the past through the introduction and use of carbon-14 dating methods. He concluded in 1946 that nearly all neutrons produced by cosmic rays entering the earth's atmosphere end their lives by converting some of the atmospheric nitrogen into carbon-14, a radioactive isotope of carbon. He reasoned that because of photosynthesis all the living material and vegetable world (the biosphere) should be weakly radioactive owing to the uptake of this minute proportion of carbon-14 in the atmosphere. Carbon-14 dating was made possible by taking advantage of the knowledge that the radiation from this radioisotope decays at a predictable rate, and measuring the amount of radioactivity remaining in organic samples. In the case of the Dead Sea Scrolls, some of the linen from the decomposed cloth in which the Scrolls were found was sent to the University of California for dating. The result fixed the date of the Scrolls at 33 AD plus or minus 200 years.

The tiny nucleus of the hydrogen atom is a kind of spinning gyroscope and magnet. It is possible to use these properties of the nucleus to build a highly sensitive device to measure local magnetism to one part in 100,000. Ancient tombs deep under the ground, or fireplaces or buried walls, each subtly disturbs the earth's natural magnetic fields. The physicist-archaeologist can use this information to locate buried articles of irreplaceable value. An international group of scientists from the United States and Italy in just a few days' time outlined half a mile of one of the ancient walls of the city of Sybaris. Most of the wall was buried beneath about 10 feet of silt. The proton magnetometer can also be used for dating and potentially is much more precise than radiocarbon dating. Its most useful contribution will be in establishing dates for the last 2,000 years.

Using neutrons from an atomic reactor to study the chemical composition of pottery from the Mediterranean and from South and Central America, scientists at the Brookhaven National Laboratory found evidence of ancient fakery. Pieces of pottery made in an ancient city of Arezzo, Italy, were very popular in the Roman Empire because of the high quality of their workmanship. The potters marked their wares in the way that manufacturers trademark their goods today. Neutron analysis shows that much of this ancient pottery was made elsewhere and given a false trademark. The chemical composition of the clay establishes it was not made in Arezzo. Similarly X-ray fluorescence spectrometry established the skull and jawbone of the famous Piltdown man as a complete fraud. Brown coloration of the skull was the result of artificial treatment of the bones with chromic acid.

These are only a few of the ways in which science and technology are being put to new uses in the traditional fields of study and the arts. These applications have brought about phenomenal reductions in the time and effort required to accomplish major programs of scholarship. Their significance is far-reaching. In essence they amount to a manifold amplification of human capabilities, both with respect to man's sensory organs and his capacity for thought. A recent example of the application of computers to accomplish logical processes is the study of the Pauline epistles by the Rev. Andrew Q. Morton of Culross in Scotland. By testing the original Greek of the epistles for sentence length, word pattern and the occurrence of common words of Greek prose, this scholar concluded that St. Paul could not have been the author of more than five

THEY SAY

The first man I appointed to my staff when I became President was Jack Valenti whose grandfather came from Italy and who incidentally is about the best fellow with me. He gets up with me every morning. He stays up with me until I go to bed at night, around midnight, and he is the only one who can really take it. The rest of these fellows are sissies – *President Lyndon Johnson.*

When America's workers return to their jobs tomorrow morning, more than 4,000 of them will find that machines have moved in overnight to take the jobs they held – *Secretary of Labor Wirtz.*

"Truth-in-packaging" and "truth-in-lending" legislation would downgrade American consumers to a state of incompetence – *Senator Roman L. Hruska (R, Neb.).*

As this widely ballyhooed new attack [the Administration's war on poverty] shapes up, we see all the old familiar subsidy schemes shoved into battle, disguised in rags and tatters and marching to the tune of "Brother, Can You Spare a Few More Billion?" – *US Chamber of Commerce president Edwin P. Neilan.*

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of the 14 epistles previously attributed to him.

Though man is a limited species he has invented many devices to extend his senses. With telescopes and photographic film he can observe events taking place billions of light years away, perhaps near the very edge of the expanding universe. In the microscopic world he sees the detailed structure of simple self-reproducing things so small that billions of them could fit comfortably in a sphere no bigger than the period at the end of this sentence. To keep from being swamped by the vast amount of data accumulated by these artificial sense organs, we have developed sophisticated thinking machines. The growth of scientific knowledge reveals faint stars to be island universes, and opens our eyes to the structure by means of which the chromosome contains both the history and future of the flowers. The evolutionary hypothesis may be construed to elaborate the figure of man's origin from the dust. The metaphors of Genesis offer the texts for which science in subsequent ages has been busy providing the detailed exegesis.

Glenn T. Seaborg

A View from the Canal

Balboa, Canal Zone

This is a tale of two communities divided by passions, prejudices, politics and a fourlane concrete boulevard called Fourth of July Avenue, an extension of the Pan-American Highway as it rolls off Thatcher Ferry Bridge spanning the Canal. On one side are the manicured green slopes, orderly tree-lined streets, gracious official buildings and neat houses of the Canal Zone's Pacific complex, its headquarters and the largest population concentration on the 10-mile-wide strip across the isthmus. At first glance it seems a typical US middle-class suburb. Closer scrutiny suggests it is a stage set or an architect's model of a suburb: too neat, too tidy, too orderly. Small deviations, fingerprints of individuality are missing. Everyone works for the government or is dependent on someone who does. Not least of the contradictions in our Latin American policy is the irony that this showcase for the benefits of private enterprise should display tightly managed socialism. Ernie Pyle, visiting the Zone just before World War II, called its residents "voluntary convicts in a lonely penitentiary." He wrote: "They have given up personal ambition, natural instincts of competition, all the lovely mystery of life, for a security that gives them a life of calm and vague discontent." This remains true nearly a quarter of a century later. What the Zonians themselves call their "paranoia" has become increasingly acute because of the stresses of outside criticism and erosion of that security for which Pyle said they sacrificed their souls.

The January disturbances came as no surprise. Trouble was brewing. Zonians blame the State Department for not acting before trouble broke out. "The best economy move that President Johnson could make would be to abolish the State Department. Fire all of them!" is a typical remark.

Americans of the Zone regard the building of the Canal which would "divide the land and unite the world" as one of the greatest achievements of United States history. They feel that most Americans have forgotten that engineering and digging the Panama Canal was one of the seven wonders of the modern world. They also feel that American know-how and drive brought the 20th Century to Panama City when it was a forgotten backwater that had been deserted by Spain a century earlier. Panama according to contemporary accounts was harder to get to than Tibet before Americans, at a cost of $150,000 per mile and allegedly one Panamanian death per tie, pushed railroad tracks through the jungle to create a shortcut to the California goldfields. Many Americans remained even after the boom ended with completion of the Union Pacific Railroad across the North American plains. Some were completely absorbed into the Panamanian community, hence the Anglo-Saxon nature of some "old Panama" names. Others came to work on the abortive French attempt at a canal, and some stayed after that failure. An American Masonic Lodge was founded in Colon in 1898.

Crisis has brought the intimate schisms of civil war. One dark-eyed American girl whose family connections in Panama are much too complex to disentangle says sadly, "In our family we don't dare discuss it. That's the only way to avoid quarrels at the table." A third generation Isthmian, she lives in rural Panama and works in the Zone. Many of the fancier yachts moored at the Balboa Yacht Club belong to Panamanians who continue to drink beer at the club bar with their gringo friends and calmly discuss "the troubles."

American military comprise over half the Zone's population and have military PX privileges. Employees of the Panama Canal Company have commissaries

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whose prices are pegged to retail prices in New Orleans. Many shop in Panama, which is cheaper. Americans in the Zone rent and can never own their homes. Many of the best houses are small, simple, comfortable two-family structures, similar to homes of skilled tradesmen I have visited in the Los Angeles area, except that the occupants don't have swimming pools as many California painters, plumbers and electricians do. Many of the highly-skilled and well-paid Canal pilots live in cramped "temporary" homes dating from World War II or earlier, with a galvanized shower stall and no tub, fighting against cockroaches, ants, termites, moths and this past fall "The Itch," believed caused by female butterflies. Clothes, refrigerators, cars rot, rust, mildew, disintegrate and corrode despite all precautions and must be replaced far more frequently than in the US. The huts of Panama squatters spring up like mushrooms not only along the chainlink fence of the Zone border but also around the de luxe El Panama Hotel and the luxury apartments of Panama's rich people. Yet Panama City is the healthiest, cleanest and most prosperous city in Central if not all Latin America except Mexico.

The political history of the Arias family has significance for relations between the United States and the Republic of Panama. Harmodio Arias was a little, dark, wizened man who started life on a small cattle farm in Coclé, a northern province, and was called on his death last year "the most powerful man in the Republic of Panama in 30 years." A scholarship enabled him to become a graduate of Oxford and he received a doctorate in laws from the University of London. His brother and political heir is Arnulfo Arias, a graduate of the University of Chicago and Harvard Medical School. One son is publisher of the inflammatory *Panama-American* in English and Spanish editions; the other son, Tito, is well-known as the husband of the British ballerina, Margot Fonteyn. In 1936 the Arias's helped to bring about the first revision of the treaty with the US; Margot's presence publicized Arias' influence in later excitements leading to another treaty revision. During the 1940's Arnulfo was twice elected President by what are generally conceded to have been unrigged popular elections. Neither time did he complete his term of office. He instituted and enforced tax and other reforms which got him the enmity of the privileged and the approval of the poor, but attempted constitutional reforms to continue himself in power that alienated even his brother.

Arnulfo is a presidential candidate for the May 10 presidential election. Seven hats are in the ring but the groups are expected to coalesce into two or three major factions. Observers predict that in a three-party race Arnulfo will win. A two-party election would be closer.

Peggy Poor

Do We Need Guantanamo?

by Mark S. Watson

Under the 1903 agreement Cuba retained "ultimate sovereignty" over Guantanamo. But that phrase is as obscure in meaning as our Panama Canal Zone treaty of the same period. Cuba gets no satisfaction from it, and Castro has refused to accept the annual rental of $3,386.25, though up to the last he accepted the $187,000 annual payment for water supplied to the base. The $3,386.25 cannot be regarded as a cruelly exorbitant rent for an installation whose book value the Navy puts at $76 million.

The Navy says there is a genuine military need for the base: that Guantanamo Bay has already served a most important purpose in war, will continue to do so, and must be maintained. To understand the Navy's view it is necessary to know the historical record, the geography of the Caribbean area and of the base's immediate environment, and the training requirements of an efficient Atlantic Fleet.

The base occupies the mouth and lower part of Guantanamo Bay, on the south side of Cuba's easterly tip. This comprises 9,196 acres of the bay itself, largely deep water and for this reason admirable for the movement of large vessels; and 19,621 acres in roughly equal parts to east and west of the bay. On the two land areas, connected by ferry, are airfields, warehouses, workshops, supply points, power-plant, housing, schools, playfields, a theater, recreational clubs, and all other facilities for the naval base's working requirements and for the comfortable living of about 10,000 military and civilian residents. The fresh water storage, divided between an underground reservoir and a "farm" of above-ground tanks that look just like our cities'

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familiar gasoline storage tanks, holds 15 million gallons.

Base commander Rear-Admiral John D. Bulkeley is a World War II patrol-boat hero whose little squadron in 1962 spirited General MacArthur and leading members of the Philippines government away from Corregidor and through the Japanese sea patrols to Mindanao, on their way to Australia. Admiral Bulkeley has under him 200 officers and 3,000 men of the Navy and Marine Corps, with their 2,400 dependents, and 600 US civil service employees and dependents. Also working on the base when the new dispute arose this month were 2,100 Cubans as shop employees and 1,500 others as domestics, of whom about 500 have been living on the base instead of leaving each night and returning each morning. The Cubans' annual take-home pay was about $6 million. In its first hasty search for means of retaliating against Castro's cut-off of water, Washington discharged many of the Cuban employees as a means of hurting the Cuban economy as a whole, even though they have long been faithful workers at the base. There is no problem about quickly rebuilding the necessary working force with imported American labor but, like the new water-supply arrangements, it involves added costs.

The bay can harbor the Navy's largest ships and about 40 destroyers. Just outside the bay the water is deep enough for submarines. The entrance is broad enough to permit ready passage in stormy weather, yet narrow enough to permit a close guard against interlopers. It was of great value in World War II as a refuge for merchant shipping threatened in transit by German submarines, and particularly as a rendezvous for assembling merchantman convoys awaiting orders to proceed on the way under escort. This has added significance today, when huge advances of technology in propulsion, rockets and electronics have given underseas warfare a potential vastly exceeding that of 1945.

By itself, Guantanamo is an important factor in naval planning. It is still more important as part of a Caribbean complex, for it is a link in a defensive chain that includes Key West, the nearest point on the continent with its important sea and air facilities, and Roosevelt Roads off Puerto Rico. Guantanamo-based ships and planes can effectively patrol the Yucatan Straits which connect the Caribbean with the Gulf of Mexico. These patrols trace movements from Castro's Cuba to Latin America. In cooperation with Puerto Rico based ships and planes, Guantanamo's patrols also survey the other principal passages into the Caribbean: the Windward Passage east of Cuba, the Mona Passage between the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico and Anageda Passage between Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Patrols from Guantanamo cover the eastern approaches to the Panama Canal which saves 21 days in passage from San Diego to Norfolk, and from the West Coast of South America to East Atlantic industries.

Guantanamo is the Navy's most important base in the whole Caribbean area in war hot or cold, and serves the Atlantic Fleet's ships as they quit East Coast shipyards for a shakedown cruise at sea, when everything about a ship has to be tested, from hulls and weapons to communications and officers and men. The job takes about a month for a big carrier and a week or two for a destroyer, and it calls for hard and systematic training exercises in the open sea beyond the bay's entrance, before the ship joins the Atlantic Fleet.

The Navy says it could get along without Guantanamo the way a man can get along without a leg, but that in the Navy's judgment it cannot be given up without severe injury to the nation's defense potential at a time when the submarine threat makes undiminished seapower vital to America's existence.

Guantanamo's Water

The US Navy's active use of Guantanamo Bay as a base dates from February 23, 1903, when President Theodore Roosevelt signed the "agreement to lease" which President Estrada Palma had signed for Cuba one week earlier. The detailed lease agreement, ratified by both countries October 6 that year, fixed annual rental at $2,000 in gold coin (changed to $3,386.25 in 1934 when gold coinage was discontinued and the dollar was devalued).

The base area was independent of surrounding Cuban territory except for fresh water. To meet needs of around two million gallons a day when there was no rationing the base authorities contracted to buy water from an impounding of the nearby Yateras River piped into the base for filtering, storage and distribution.

On January 6, 1959, on coming to power in much of the island although by no means the whole of Cuba, Castro headquarters informed the United States that "all international commitments and agreements in force will be ratified."

In February, 1961, the US made an agreement with the Port Everglades (Fla.) Port Authority assuring in emergency a supply up to two million gallons of water a day at 25 cents per 1,000 gallons, to be transported by ship from Fort Lauderdale to the base. Now giant tankers of the Military Sea Transport Authority will carry the water. Each tanker carries about three million gallons. The base's daily consumption can be cut below a million gallons a day by eliminating non-essentials. Therefore, transportation of water by boat while expensive (the Yateras River water costs 23 cents per 1,000 gallons) presents no operating problem. There is a strong possibility of a land-based distillation plant which at moderate cost would furnish all needs.

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He May Be Right About China But Wrong About Europe

by Louis J. Halle

On January 31 President Charles de Gaulle at the Elysée Palace in Paris produced the ninth of his conferences, with a press corps that this time numbered about a thousand. These occasions, which occur about twice a year, are basically different from any other press conferences ever held. The questions and responses, prepared in advance, are staged as carefully as any performance of *Hamlet*. The few questions are cues, agreed upon in advance, for soliloquies that de Gaulle delivers like Hamlet and with the same magical effect. In both cases the audience is given the impression that the actor is making up his lines as he goes along, that the flow of his speech is extempore; and yet it is of such literary quality as no mortal could achieve without an extended effort of composition. Read in the original French, the expression of de Gaulle's thoughts compares not unfavorably with that of Pascal's; the style is in the tradition of Rousseau and Chateaubriand.

One cannot read Press Conference No. 9 without concluding that de Gaulle today is by a large margin the outstanding figure on the world's political stage. He is the strength of France, worth its gross national product and its *force de frappe* combined. The impression he makes is not just a matter of literary style. More profoundly, it is a matter of the style of thought which the literary style reflects. What are topical questions of politics for other political leaders are questions of history for him. Where others play politics he thinks in terms of shaping the course of history. He brings to this role the advantage of a cultivation such as no other political leader of the 20th Century has possessed, with the possible exceptions of Theodore Roosevelt and Winston Churchill.

The usual approach to politics, especially in our Anglo-Saxon world, is exclusively pragmatic. The typical leader makes shift with the day's problems as they arise, rarely looking beyond the day itself. He has no vision of the historic world to which they belong, in its sweep and majesty, nor any coherent philosophy in terms of which they have more than a self-contained meaning. What distinguishes de Gaulle's thought and gives it style is that it does represent the vision and the philosophy that are lacking in other political leaders. This imparts a grand gaullic simplicity to his conception of the tangled complexities that constitute the daily political fare. It also provides a basis for sureness in decision.

What is this simple gaullist vision?

It is the vision of a world in which nationality, embodied in the national state, transcends all other elements of human community. In this it differs from the Marxist vision, which gives social class the primacy, making nationality secondary to it. It also differs from the vision of that large part of mankind for whom ideology is transcendent. For those who hold to this ideological vision, all Communists must be brothers, the mutual solidarity of Communist states must be monolithic, while a common devotion to freedom ought to constitute an indissoluble bond between men of all nations. These ideologists are the slowest and most reluctant to recognize any such division among the votaries of a common ideology as has existed between the Russian and Chinese Communists ever since 1927; and they are the most outraged when the French, while claiming their place in the ranks of freedom, step out of line.

The bewilderment of the ideologists is not shared by General de Gaulle, who sees the world as a Hobbesian international anarchy in which sovereign nation-states, each standing essentially alone, engage in mutual rivalry. Alliances among them are at best marriages of convenience, without love or any ultimate loyalty. If, then, there is a fundamental issue to be made with General de Gaulle, it is over this vision of the international anarchy as representing nature itself. How true is it?

While great and essentially simple world-visions may be wholly false, none is ever wholly true. Even a vision not wholly true, however, may be serviceable as a basis for decision and action. Adam Smith in the 18th Cen-

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tury represented a philosophical vision that entranced a great part of mankind in its day and that has its votaries among us still. It was the vision of a beneficent anarchy in which each individual man, by pursuing exclusively his own selfish interest, made a maximum contribution to the well-being of society as a whole. Because the cobbler strove to make money by cobbling, society was better shod than it could otherwise have been; because one factory-owner competed with another, the wealth of nations increased.

While this vision has long been discredited among the knowledgeable, it has been discredited rather for the exceptions of which it failed to take account than because it was not true in the main. As a basis of policy and action it proved serviceable in its day, providing the argument for measures to prevent monopoly, to protect consumers, and to increase the general wealth by the expansion of production. But inadequacies of the vision that were incidental only, by obviating measures to prevent wage-slavery and control business cycles, brought discredit upon it. Consequently these inadequacies, however incidental, were fatal. We may hold that General de Gaulle's grand vision of the international anarchy is also true in the main, while recognizing exceptions that may ultimately entail certain dangers in the pursuit of any policy based upon it.

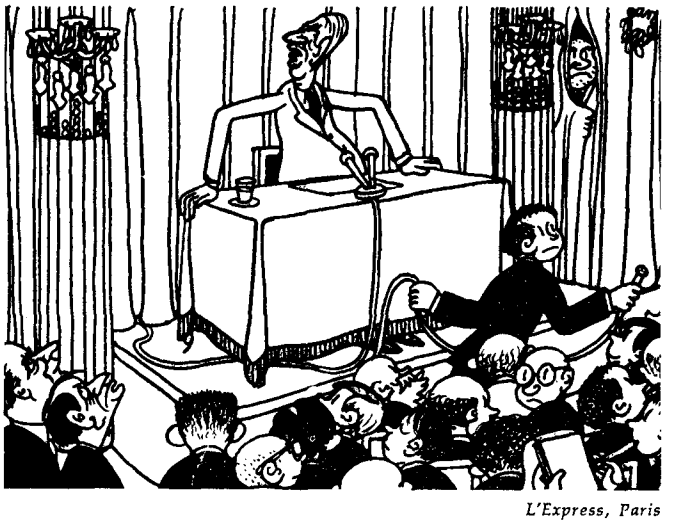
Appraisal of China

General de Gaulle's vision has enabled him, by contrast with us Americans, to make what seems to me a just appraisal of China's position in the world today. He has recognized that in China and Russia, as elsewhere, ideological affinity is secondary to national difference. It is true, he says in his conference, that Soviet Russia at first gave large economic and technical assistance to Red China. But what was the purpose of this assistance? "This was the time," he says, "when the Kremlin, using there as elsewhere its rigorous preponderance within the Communist Church to sustain the supremacy of Russia over the peoples whom a dictatorship similar to its own had subordinated, thought to hold China under its sway and through her to dominate Asia. But the illusion has evaporated. No doubt between the regimes of Moscow and Peking there remains a certain doctrinal solidarity that may manifest itself in the worldwide ideological competition. However, the inevitable difference of national policies appears every day through an increasingly ragged cloak. . . . It follows that the attitude and the action of a people numbering 700 million are effectively controlled only by its own government."

China, then, is Chinese first and Communist second. Since ideological affinity is not the basis of relations between nations, the fact that China happens to be Communist is no reason for not maintaining relations with it. "Is it necessary to say," he asks, "that for our part there is nothing in this decision [the French decision to exchange ambassadors with Peking] that carries the least approbation with respect to the political system that today dominates China?" Finally, "above all, it may be that in the immense evolution of the world, by multiplying the relations between peoples one serves the cause of mankind – that is to say, the cause of wisdom, of progress, and of peace. It may be that such contacts contribute to the attenuation, now begun, of the dramatic contrasts and oppositions between the different camps that divide the world. It may be that thus the souls of men, wherever they may be in the earth, will meet somewhat earlier at the *rendezvous* to which France summoned the world 175 years ago now – *celui de la liberté, de l'egalité et de la fraternité.*"

One could hardly imagine a greater contrast than exists between these considerations with respect to the recognition of China, and such pragmatic questions as govern thinking in Washington – questions like whether the establishment of relations with Peking would make the overseas Chinese more troublesome, whether it would tend to demoralize the Nationalist troops on Formosa, or whether it would discourage whoever is governing in Saigon today. We pride ourselves on such pragmatism, but in this case I wonder whether, in avoiding the small and immediate pitfalls that such pragmatism reveals, we are not continuing on a course that leads to the ultimate abyss of humiliation, when we are at last compelled to recognize that China is a full-fledged member of the familiar international anarchy with which we have had to maintain innumerable relations since the beginning of our history.

A DE GAULLE PRESS CONFERENCE



L'Express, Paris

"Be so good, gentlemen, as to provide questions to my answers."

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If de Gaulle's vision serves him well in dealing with the Chinese question (where it stands in contrast to our own inadequate vision), it serves him less well, I think, in dealing with the movement for European unification. Here it seems to me less true in its application.

The division of mankind into national states is not an immutable fact of nature. According to the quite false but assiduously cultivated legendry of nationalism, the present nation-states of Europe go back to prehistory. For example, a standard short history of Switzerland by the Swiss Professor Charles Gilliard begins with the sentence: "Switzerland did not enter into history until the Roman conquest." The fact is, however, that the scattered Swiss communes and cantons did not finally come together to form a single Swiss state until 1848, and there was nothing remotely identifiable as Switzerland for centuries after the fall of Rome. Again, although the romancers refer to Charlemagne's "France" in the 8th Century, France did not form a single economic or legal community until 1790, and M. Philippe Ariès writes: "It is probable that in the middle of the 19th Century the national idea was still unknown to a large part of the [French] population." The heyday of nationalism in Europe was in the historically brief period from 1870 to 1945, and it has since been on the wane.

The Enlargement of Sovereignty

In General de Gaulle's vision, however, as in Mazzini's a century ago, "nations are the individuals of humanity." God or nature created the nations, and in their present form as sovereign nation-states they are eternal. Consequently, the general has nothing but contempt for the advocates of any supranational authority – whether it is the United Nations, the NATO Council of Ministers, or the Commission of the European Economic Community to which he refers in slighting terms. "It is clear," General de Gaulle says, "that not one of the European peoples will agree to confide its destiny to any assembly composed principally of foreigners."

This last statement is unexceptionable if one accepts its premise, that the present European nations (including Luxembourg) are the immortal individuals of European history. Before 1871, however, there were a large number of sovereign German states where afterwards there was only the one German state, and a de Gaulle in their midst might then have said that the Bavarian "people," the Saxon "people," and the other "peoples" would not agree to confide their destinies to a common government composed principally of "foreigners." Before 1848 there were 22 sovereign Swiss cantons, and a de Gaulle in Zurich might have said that the Zurich "people," the Ticino "people," the Geneva "people," and the other "peoples" would not agree to confide their destinies to a common government composed principally of "foreigners." However, since the Zurich "people," the Ticino "people," the Geneva "people," and the others have come together to form one Swiss "people," the fact that they are governed by citizens of other cantons can no longer be taken to mean that they are governed by "foreigners." To the extent that the Luxembourg "people," the Belgian "people," and the rest became one European "people," a governing assembly of Europeans would likewise not be an assembly of "foreigners."

Time and again, when talking to me as an American, my Swiss or French or German friends use the phrase, "we Europeans." When they think of themselves in relation to the Asians or the Africans, as often as not it is as Europeans that they think of themselves.

The same situation prevails on our own continent still today. I daresay that, when the government in Washington presses for the integration of schools in Alabama, Governor Wallace thinks of himself primarily as an Alabaman, and thinks of the men in Washington as foreigners. But when he contemplates the Russian Communists he thinks of himself as an American and identifies himself with the men in Washington.

What impresses me, as an American resident in Europe, is a rapid evolution in the psychology of Europeans parallel to the evolution that made the "peoples" of the several Swiss cantons one Swiss "people." This is promoted, *interalia*, by the revolution in mobility, which has come to Europe a generation after it came to America. Today, Europeans of all classes flow constantly across the national boundaries (where sometimes they need do no more than slow down) on motor-scooters or motor-bicycles, pedaling or on foot, in cars or in buses. This experience impresses them if only unconsciously, with the smallness of their national territories and the integrity of Europe.

No one can measure how far this evolution has gone or how long it will take. It is the direction, however, that counts. General de Gaulle consistently disregards this evolution in all his pronouncements, for he has committed himself in the name of France to a narrow nationalism, and to a corresponding concept of international anarchy that must be regarded as relatively immutable if his policy is to be justified in the long run. History, I suspect, will show that in this he is overlooking a secular change that will at last discredit his policy – although that may take time.

Like Adam Smith, de Gaulle is too wedded to the artistic integrity of his vision to see what will one day make it obsolete. That is why he could be wrong with respect to the future of Europe, however right he was with respect to the present in Asia.

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How the East was Won

by John Thomson

Gibbon is no longer much read. It seems safe to venture that the autobiography of that rotund 18th Century man of letters, the admirer of the future Mme. Necker, the wit of a sophisticated cosmopolitan society, altogether a Jamesian character before his time, is more read than his great work, *The Decline and Fall.* If it were not so, two battles critical in the history of the West would be better known. At the Yarmouk in 636 the Moslem Arabs decisively defeated the Byzantine Empire and acquired that control over the Levant and later Egypt, North Africa and Mesopotamia that they hold today. The blinding sandstorm in which the Christian army floundered to defeat was a gale which carried Islam across three continents to the allegiance of some 15 percent of the world's population. That 32 percent is still Christian is in large part the result of the battle of Poitiers in 732. Deep in France Charles Martel's mass of close fighting infantry, supported by some rudimentary mounted knights, withstood the shock of the Moslem cavalry and turned back the tide of Islam. In all Western Europe the Moslems held only the Iberian peninsula.

The Great Arab Conquests
by Sir John Bagot Glubb
(Prentice-Hall; $6.95)

These distant but decisive events have dropped nearly out of our consciousness. The reasons are profound and at bottom religious. The West owed allegiance to the Popes in Rome: the East to the Patriarchs and Emperors of Byzantium and to the Khalifs or Successors of Mohammed. At times – and even during the Crusades – the Orthodox Church in Byzantium was as much anathema to Rome as were the Moslem Saracens. The victories of the latter over the former were not seen as necessarily detrimental to Roman Christendom. The break between the two churches became definitive after the Council of Florence in 1438, the last attempt till our own day to bring Eastern and Western Christianity into harmony. Though the Byzantine Emperor himself, the grave Paleologus, journeyed to Italy – thus providing the material for Piero della Francesca's great frescoes at Arezzo – the Latins would make no concessions to the Greeks. The sequel was the final victory of Islam over Byzantium in 1453, which brought on a direct confrontation between Rome and Islam. It was the Pope himself who formed the League and gathered the fleet, which defeated the Moslem Turks at the decisive battle of Lepanto in 1571.

The division between the Eastern and the Western Mediterranean was not merely the result of the Saracens' hold upon the Holy Places and upon the routes to the Orient. Nor was it in the main even because of the natural rivalry between neighboring powers. More fundamental were the different social, political and intellectual habits which flowed from the mediaeval church on the one hand and from Islam on the other. The gulf was widened by the extraordinary explosion of thought and discoveries in the West just at the time when the confrontation was reaching a peak after the fall of Constantinople. Renaissance Europe began to contrast more and more favorably with the sterility of an Islamic society, in which original thought and religious speculation were equally discouraged. Thus we venerate Greece, we understand Rome, we admire the Renaissance, but we are ignorant of Islam and her conquests.

The conquests were a great surprise to all contemporaries, including the Arab conquerors themselves. The two giants of the time, Byzantium and Persia, had slugged each other until they were punch drunk. Their trained armies collapsed simultaneously before the amazing onslaught of natural fighters who saw death in battle as the quickest route to paradise. It was much as if America and Russia were now to collapse before an African invasion – inconceivable except that it happened.

The reasons for the Arab conquests were numerous. Beyond the destructive body blows which Byzantium and Persia dealt each other there was a frailty in their societies, partly due to bigoted religious quarrels. Behind the readiness of the Arabs to give up this world for the seductive charms of the promised houris there was a religious conviction strong enough in some to leaven, for a time, the whole mass. One of the many merits of Sir John Glubb's book is his insistence upon the distinction between the town Arabs and the Bedouin. Mohammed himself came from the towns. The desert dwellers have rarely been a deeply religious people, and it was mainly they whom Simon Ockley, Gibbon's precursor, had in mind when he remarked:

> "They were always a warlike people, seldom being at peace either with one another or their neighbors. Their chief excellence consisted in managing horses, and the care of bows, swords and lances. Their learning lay wholly in their poetry, to which their genius greatly inclined them."

They were always ready for fighting and plunder, but they were nomadic and shiftless. They became altogether formidable when they were sustained by the religious enthusiasm and the organization of the townsfolk.

The remarkable thing about the Arabs as a whole is that for a great people they have shown little diversity. Their talents have lain in fighting, poetry and religion. All three, at least as practiced by the Arabs in the days of their conquests, were individualistic pursuits. Religion was the greatest of them, and Mohammed, who predicted that Islam would break into 72 warring sects, considerably underestimated the Arab talent for fragmentation. Nevertheless,

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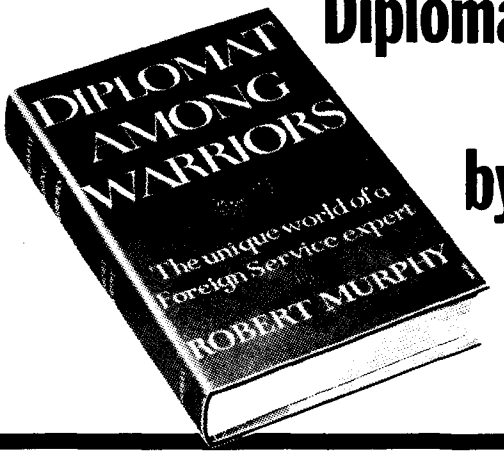

Diplomat Among Warriors by ROBERT MURPHY

DOUBLEDAY

it was not, in the long run, diversity, but rather the mediaeval attempt to secure orthodoxy by banning speculative thought, which caused the Moslem Arab world to drop out of the main stream of human activity. The last great period of Islamic thought and learning concluded in the 13th Century. There is no word in Arabic which conveys the value of our word "interesting." There was no Reformation; there was no Renaissance.

The Prophet, being ignorant of the sex life of date trees, forbade his followers to fertilize the female by the male seed. Those who obeyed him had no dates. He understood and revoked his edict. This was illustrative of the Old Testament-like detail in which Moslem lives were guided to the detriment of experiment; one has the feeling that some of the Prophet's successors would not have revoked the edict.

In Islam there are relations between man and God and between man and man. But there is little notion of society and virtually no political philosophy. Like Cromwell's troopers, Mohammed's followers were invincible in their might and their faith, but they were not much good at governing. The achievements of the Arab dynasties in this direction were the work of their subject peoples.

No one is a substitute for Gibbon, but Sir John Glubb's book is very welcome. It may be that the subject is so unfamiliar and the names so outlandish to our ears that not all will wish to read every word of it, but there is no hardship in doing so. Sir John's style is lucid, occasionally memorable, and his book is easier to read than any other modern work on the subject. He knows how to tell a good story, and he has a great story to tell.

In the present volume Sir John takes the story to the death in 680 of Muawiya, the founder of the Unmayyad dynasty. The first third is devoted to the life of Mohammed and the establishment of Islam before his death in 632. The last quarter deals with the dissensions between his relatives and companions, which rent Islam asunder within little more than a generation. Between these sections the bulk of the book tells the story of the conquests themselves.

Sir John Glubb disclaims profound

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scholarship (there is no bibliography): to a large extent his book is a re-telling rather than a new work. His own special contribution derives from his long experience as a commander of Arab troops fighting and training over the very battlefields which he describes. It is a pity that so little is known about the equipment, the weapons and how they were employed, the numbers of men involved and the details of the battles themselves, but Sir John does his best with the material. Where he really scores is in the strategy of the campaigns. The importance of the topography simply cannot be over-emphasized. His insights here ring true. They will remain of permanent value.

There are many other good things in the book: his understanding of Arab characteristics, his sympathetic remarks on the influence of Islam, his ability almost to rise above the deeply-felt English preference for the Bedouin as against the town Arabs. But above all the book must be recommended because it deals lucidly with great events in the history of man. Gibbon was right when he dwelt upon them. It is a far cry from the sands of Arabia to the 18th-Century drawing-rooms of London and Geneva frequented by Gibbon, but the former have as much claim on our consciousness as the latter. Perhaps more so, for we live in a time of startling change. Who knows but the break up of Rome and her successor Byzantium may have lessons for us.

Turning Gold into Sand

by Asher Brynes

An underdeveloped country is a place in which more than half the people farm for a living. Actually, the depth of poverty and the size of population

Transforming Traditional Agriculture
by Theodore W. Schultz
(Yale; $6)

in agriculture and related industries (forest products and fisheries) go hand in hand in the statistical tables. Take Nigeria for an example: it is the largest and one of the newest of the African nations. More than three-fourths of the people work in the fields and forests. The average annual income in Nigeria is $80, which means that the rural population has even less. In some of the other African and Asian countries with still larger farm populations conditions are worse. We seem to confront a paradox, one of those facts that *shouldn't* be true: those who mostly produce food have the least to eat.

The new Nigerian government, to go on with this story, is anxious to march into the 20th Century as rapidly as possible. After more than a year of labor, with the assistance of a committee of foreign consultants, the first Nigerian economic development plan was promulgated recently. It allocates less than a seventh of the development funds that the central government expects to raise through domestic taxation and foreign aid to the sector of the economy in which three-fourths of the people work. Obviously, the Nigerians don't believe their kind of farming can be improved much by the direct investment of capital. And since only a third of the foreign assistance anticipated by the regime has actually been received – the bulk of it from the United States, a little from the former colonial power, Great Britain, and token amounts from West Germany and Switzerland – aid to most of the Nigerian people will have to be cut still more.

There is a theory of sorts, (or as Professor Schultz prefers to call it, a set of doctrines) implicit in such planning. This theory holds that "the opportunity for growth from agriculture is among the least attractive of the sources of growth; agriculture can provide a substantial part of the capital that is required to mount industrialization in poor countries; it can also provide an unlimited supply of labor for industry; it can even supply much labor (for practically nothing) . . . because a considerable part of the labor force in agriculture is redundant in the sense that its productivity is zero; farmers are not responsive to normal economic incentives but instead often respond perversely (producing more, for in-

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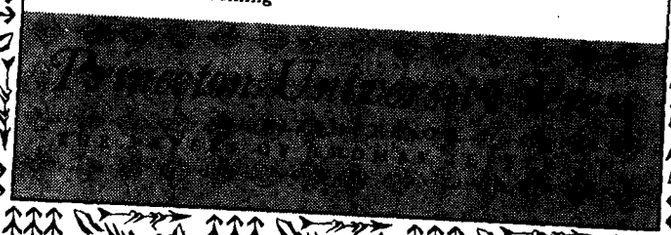

stance, the less they are paid for what they grow); and large farms are required in order to produce farm products at minimum costs."

Some of these doctrines are so thoroughly entrenched even in the United States that they resist reality. Twice Professor Schultz all but gives way to despair, which he calls *hope;* he is, after all, the dean of American agricultural economists and as the most respected man in the profession he no doubt feels he must sound cheerful. "Hopefully, given time," he says at one point, "it may not be altogether naïve to believe that the trumpets of economic analysis may bring down the walls of political dogma." After blowing as hard as he can for a hundred pages he pauses to hope once more that economic theory and empirical evidence, the logic and the facts, "may dislodge politically intrenched dogmas."

The trouble is that under the systems of subsidy maintained for the benefit of Free World Farmers in the developed countries, and the regime of exploitation imposed on the collective farmers of the Communist countries, the economics of agriculture must continue to be subordinated to a variety of political dogmas. So on the scholarly side this is a branch of the economics profession afflicted with an official literature so replete with detail that outsiders have to thresh through carloads of books and papers to sift out anything that looks like a workable generalization. Apparently the experts who produce this stuff feel they must take refuge from the prevailing political winds behind barricades of statistics of the kind that add up to still more statistics. We share with the Communists a belief in the last three of the six false doctrines about agriculture so manfully attacked by Professor Schultz; and they swallow them all. Consequently the misfortunes of a "team of top US Department of Agriculture agronomists and economists" as reported by the Associated Press in a despatch datelined Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, August 12 of last year, show what happens when the politics and economics of agriculture are mixed first in one country and then in the other by the same experts.

The team toured farm areas in Soviet Russia and four Communist countries of eastern Europe along with its chief,

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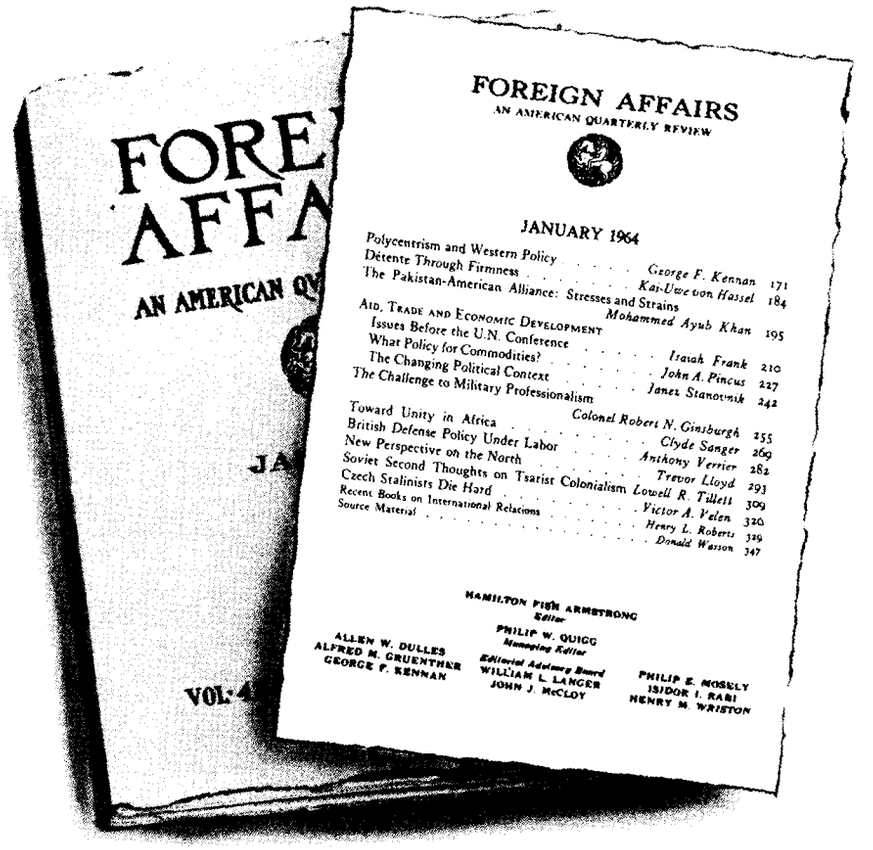
the Secretary of Agriculture, through July and part of August last summer. At the conclusion of the trip the experts convened a press conference in that pretty town on the Adriatic. One of them told the AP men that Russia might achieve a wheat surplus and move strongly into the international wheat market in a few years. Another said "it is time to stop talking about agriculture as the Achilles heel of eastern Europe." A third said "whether we like it or not, these nations are starting to produce more food under their system of dictatorship."

In January, the team finally published its long-awaited report on Communist-style agriculture. In the meantime, of course, the news of the huge Russian wheat purchases in Canada and the US – which the satellite countries joined in a scale befitting their various sizes – had been trumpeted on the front pages of the newspapers in the United States through last fall.

Of this they now took quiet notice, saying with delightful inconsequence that "Soviet agriculture has potentialities for increasing both farm output and production efficiency if the authorities decide to do it and take appropriate action." Then they firmly concluded that agriculture in the Soviet Union was unlikely to become as productive as that of the United States in the foreseeable future.

The fact is that the Soviets occasionally had good harvests in the years since their revolution, and five poor crops in a row at the time the experts were there. As for ourselves, since we believe in fewer of those false doctrines so ably refuted by Dr. Schultz the damage done to agriculture in this country is marginal. It consists chiefly in the maintenance of somewhat over a million small enterprisers in agriculture who cannot make a proper living on a farm because they can't produce enough, even with the kind of expensive assistance they are given. And these same mistaken beliefs divert the new countries, which should look first to the improvement of their traditional low-output agriculture, toward the investment of substantial amounts of their development funds in steel mills and airlines that they must buy from foreigners and hire other foreigners to operate.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Intruding on Bergman

A foreign director said to me after seeing Ingmar Bergman's last film, *Winter Light*, "it's a rich director's picture." He explained that, in his view, its economy of cast and settings, its brevity, were less the result of artistic refinement than of laziness-cum-arrogance bred of success. I thought his remark more funny than true and still do; but Bergman's latest, *The Silence*, gives

The Silence (Janus)

it another meaning. Bergman – in his current phase, at least – is exemplifying the saw about specialists: men who know more and more about less and less. He may not be a "rich" director, but, in spite of the passion in this film, he is a more aloof one than he was. He is anatomizing narrower and narrower circles of material; and the emphasis is on the dissection rather than on any revelation.

Two sisters are traveling through Europe toward their home in Sweden. Ester is unmarried, Anna is married and is accompanied by her eleven-year-old son. Ester suffers a violent attack of an unnamed but obviously grave illness. They must stay overnight in the capital of a fictitious country (where a fictitious language is spoken). In a *luxe* hotel Ester takes to her bed; Anna leaves her son with Ester and goes out. After witnessing some violent love-making in the balcony of a theater, Anna picks up a waiter (as she reports later to Ester) and goes to an empty church with him. She returns to the hotel and washes herself, in view of the avidly watching Ester who clearly has a sexual interest in her sister (which, as we have seen, she pacifies with onanism). Then Anna goes to another room in the hotel with the waiter; senses that Ester is outside the door; makes her come in to observe; forces their love-hate polarity to flare. Meanwhile, the boy has wandered about the hotel, has encountered a vaudeville troupe of dwarfs who have entertained him, has visited the old waiter in charge of their floor. Next morning Anna departs with her son for home, leaving the sister to follow later.

The film is patently a symbolic work about alienation. But its symbolism is its defect; it breaks down into a series of discernible metaphors, rather than aggregating them into an organic and effective work. We are constantly aware that there is a code to be read and we spend our time reading it. Some of the metaphors of alienation:

1. The three travelers in a city where they understand nothing.
2. The gulf between the sisters who love-hate each other.
3. The dwarfs who are cut off from the normal world and have to make their own community.
4. Anna and the waiter making fierce love though they cannot converse.
5. The country itself, presumably cut off from the world by the military rule of which we see plentiful signs.
6. Ester, a translator by profession, trying to plumb foreign works.
7. The old waiter unable to communicate the story of his life to the boy even with photos – which the boy hides.
8. Ester's parting letter for her nephew, containing some of this country's words (especially "heart" and "hand"), a hope for communication in later life.
9. Contradictorily, Ester preferring onanism and Lesbianism because she cannot stand the idea of being fertilized – dying as she denounces the propagation of life.

I have doubtless missed other symbols. But that the film is a rebus, with clues to be hunted in it, indicates its limitations. It almost seems to have been contrived as an exercise for that school that looks on criticism as cryptography. Doubtless much can be made, for example, of the fact that the film begins and ends with close-ups of the boy, but it will have to be made by someone else, as will the explanation of why this well-bred, intelligent boy pees in the corridor of this posh hotel. Obviously that means *something*.

Buzz has attended this film since its Swedish premiere because of its sexual frankness, which indeed it has – in

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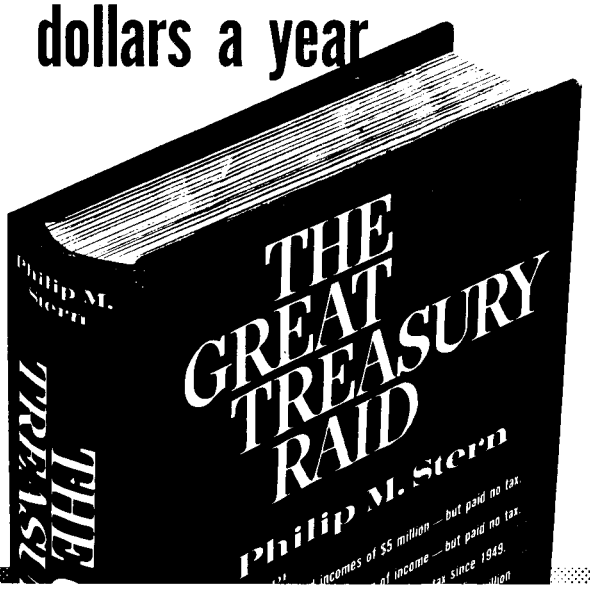

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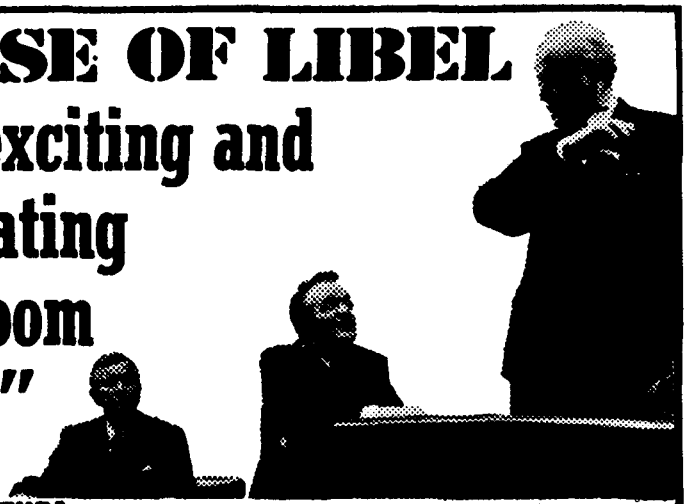

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three scenes, particularly. A friend who saw it in Sweden described those scenes to me, and, by his description, they have been slightly condensed for America. But the irony is that the film suffers nothing by this condensation; we are quite clear about what is happening and about its steamy quality. So I am still stuck with my old observation: foe of censorship that I presume to be, I have not yet seen explicit sexual details in any film that were necessary to it. Whatever was cut out of *The Silence* has not hurt it.

In no aspect of execution is this film below the high standard that Bergman has set for himself. Stroke after stroke is laid on swiftly, freshly. We know we are on a train at the beginning, not by the usual, tired, establishing long-shot but because the boy's head is seen against the unmistakable velour of a train seat and we hear the groan of the wheels. Bergman so easily creates such an atmosphere of import that, in fact, its excellence only emphasizes the vacuousness of the piece. His casting is, as always, impeccable. Hakan Jahnberg fills the role of the old waiter with kindliness. Jorgen Lindstrom, the boy, has a sweet mouselike face that counterpoises the women's faces well. As Ester, Ingrid Thulin, the teacher in *Winter Light*, is faultless. As Anna, Gunnel Lindblom smolders powerfully.

Any purportedly complete judgment of Bergman as director is bound to be faulty, because we know nothing of his theatrical work, which is the major part of his career. But film is the field in which he creates the whole work, and it has become for him the field where he works on psychological-philosophical matters that trouble him. If we had seen two or three seasons of his stage productions, the direction of this film might have additional resonances for us; but that would not alter the film's content. *The Silence* is, we are told, the third of a trilogy. Increasingly, in *Through A Glass Darkly*, *Winter Light*, and this film, he has used his means more economically and has affected us less, has made us feel we are seeing passages from private journals. The sketches are well done, the material is promising; but the art – in terms of fulfillment in our response – has not been made. This film is Bergman musing, and we have intruded.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

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TELEVISION

British and American Satire

Television producers have peddled the extravagance of Lenny Bruce, the restraint of Nichols and May and Bob and Ray's parodies of folksiness. Mort Sahl, Shelley Berman, Mel Brooks and The Establishment have all been given a chance to sell, but no satirical artist or group has found a secure spot in our network programming, and some shows have been criticized for being too caustic or in bad taste.

Finally a year and a half ago some bright British boys found the formula. BBC's "That Was the Week That Was" became the first successful adaptation of modern topical satire to TV. Running up to an hour-and-a-half weekly in an open-end format, the show became enormously popular with a peak audience of 13 million (US equivalent: about 50 million), and was even credited with hastening Macmillan's downfall. Last December, citing the coming election year, the BBC dropped the show. Its real reasons, however, were a combination of mounting political pressures and declining audience rating. As the British show died though, the pilot program of the same name of Leland Hayward's American version on NBC was received with acclaim; several weeks ago, it began a regular bi-monthly run on Friday nights.

Opening night was billed as serious satire with "an attitude, a point of view, a basis of moral values." It came through as a second-rate comedy revue with a bad case of jitters. Tittering self-consciously at its own naughtiness ("Are the kids in bed?"), the show offered a half hour's assortment of bits, skits, songs and sight gags, interspersed with alien puns carefully articulated by David Frost, the program's English creator. For example: "Lord Hume spent two days in bed with flu; [pause] or, if you wish, Lord Home spent two days in bed with Flo." There was little satire and that little of a primitive, alimentary sort, *viz.* Henry Morgan dressed up as a German "professor" demonstrating government "functions" from an anatomical diagram: "Bill goes down through the T-zone, is watered down, then goes through the colon, the semi-colon and ends up there (bang!) – the Rules Committee."

Those in the know explained the failure in terms of the moral bankruptcy of TV. Network officials were quoted ("Certainly we can't avoid civil rights . . . but we won't get on a grandstand and make a speech about them"). It was reported that the show's strongest piece of material – a pastiche of ludicrous remarks by Barry Goldwater – had been suppressed out of an exaggerated fear of libel suits.

Inevitably, the second installment was dedicated to proving the program's courage and disinterestedness. Mr. Frost sounded the keynote in an interview: "People should feel confident that the show is honest even when it seems against its own interests to be so." As if to prove it, a cigarette sponsor was shown the door when he protested a spoof on smoking – a crude but chilling conflation of clips from cigarette commercials with chest X-rays and operating-room scenes – all to the tune of "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes." The show also jabbed conscientiously at such standing targets as Southern segregationists, the CIA, homosexuals in government, Panama, affluence.

The targets were there, but rarely hit. One wondered – why the shooting match?

The original English program was a review of the week done as a deliberate parody of TV documentary and news-feature production techniques. A snapshot synopsis of the news was followed by panel discussions, profiles, interviews, political speeches and on-the-spot coverage of events. As there are no commercials on BBC, "That Was the Week that Was" inserted its own. A hearty, mustacheoed announcer urged men to join the Mafia for an "outdoor life." Clips from archaic gangster films were capped by a salacious salute in the Italian manner.

The NBC show, carefully copying unimportant details like the theme song and its blonde singer, is organized like a review with a cheerful, inane MC, and

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a string of comic routines. Also, the razzy jazzy atmosphere of the American version is constantly deflated by rhapsodies to Miss Clairol. The British camera stayed put on the close-up, as in news presentations; the American camera is back at drama-length, finessing pointlessly.

Of course, some of the more daring British routines would be intolerable in the US. One BBC Brechtean number with a beautiful blonde and four blackface minstrels yoked a Jolson-style tune to "I wanna go back to Mississippi where the mud kinda mingles with the blood of the niggers hangin' from the branches of the trees." Yet despite occasional cruelty, the British version never relinquished the scalpel for the bludgeon; every bit was performed "straight," without self-conscious winking and leering.

Perhaps the most conspicuous difference between British comedy and American is the British emphasis on the word. Language wells from prominent British mouths (and teeth), and dialogue drifts into stylistic parody, a thing almost unknown to American popular comedy.

The British version had politics. There were allusions to individuals, parties, factions, styles of political coverage. The innuendo-laden manner of sophisticated journals, for example, was prominent in interviews and discussions. However, this knowing style reached an audience far better-acquainted with news, personalities and politics than Americans are. The English are also tollerant of double entendres, ridicule of government figures and allusions to sexual practices and perversions. "I am a heterosexual," confided one speaker, parodying the literature of confessions.

Thus, a sophisticated, original, intelligent and literarily inspired satire has been sweetened, simplified and reduced to the conventional formulae of US show biz.

ALBERT GOLDMAN

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Bernard B. Fall's *newest book is* The Two Vietnams. Mark S. Watson *was recently the recipient of the President's Medal of Freedom.* John Thomson *is the author of* Crusader Castles. Albert Goldman *teaches English at Columbia.*

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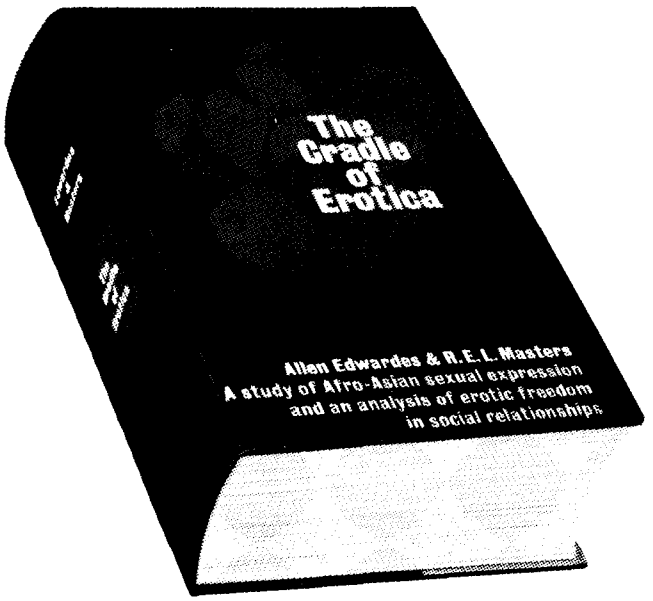
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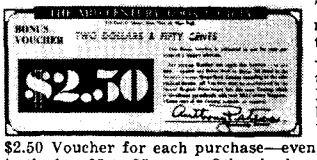

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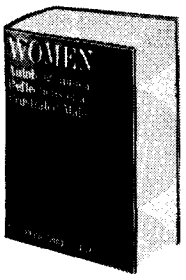

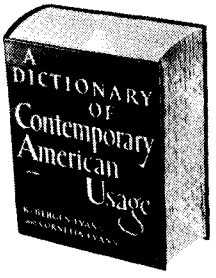

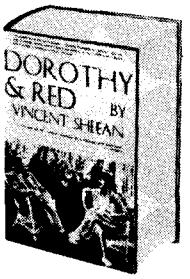

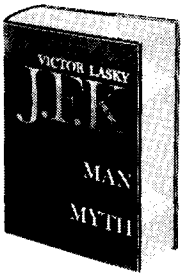

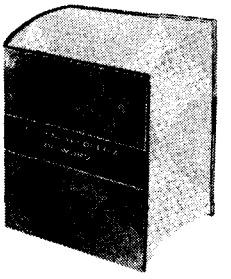

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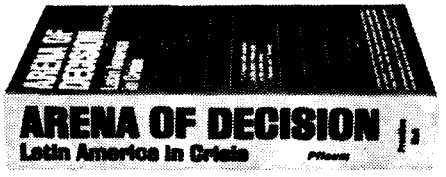

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Utilizing the Draft System

Sirs:

The beauty of the plan to have the draft examination system used, not as it was intended to be used – to find those physically fit persons who could serve in the Armed Forces – but as a mechanism for finding and paying attention to those who are not fit to do so, is that it was such an obvious twist.

Now that we're this far, why hasn't someone gone yet a bit further, and proposed that the idea be given another twist, and the draft examination system be used, not to keep the physically or mentally unfit *out* of the Army, but to get them *in*? I find two columns of the January 18 issue coming so very close to the idea, that I wonder why you didn't, after all, come out and say it.

In "Pilot Lights," you observe: "Contrary to popular belief, however, these individuals are not all hopeless cases . . . one in ten has a disorder which could be completely corrected by proper treatment, and two more out of every ten could be greatly helped by treatment. . . . Among the mental rejects, interviews . . . suggest that all of them would benefit from job counseling, and a majority need job training. About 25 percent also need remedial literacy training."

If three out of ten could be helped by treatment of some sort, why not use existing or expanded Armed Forces treatment facilities and medical personnel to give them this needed treatment, as soldiers? Why not expand the Armed Forces existing job counseling and job training programs to help those who would benefit most from them? Why not expand existing Armed Forces programs of remedial literacy training for those who need it?

As for your note, "A Volunteer Army" – if the volunteers keep our Armed Forces going, and the present draftees soon find themselves "with little to do but peel potatoes," why not give them something to do, such as go to school or train for a profession or skill? You recommend the Defense Department go "into the swollen labor

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markets and recruit high-school dropouts and other members of the unskilled labor force." Of course. And while they're in the service, do them some good physically, mentally, and educationally. . . ." The Army has training programs fitted to these purposes; and the Congress has been considerate in allowing it appropriations. It may be said that . . . US fighting strength would be reduced, but until the plan is given a fair trial this is mere conjecture."

There are thousands of problems connected with this proposal, of course. But why set up Manpower Conservation Units when we could have the equivalent sort of unit in the Armed Forces? Why try to rely on an unproven system of referral to local health agencies and private physicians for draft rejectees when, by taking them into the Army instead of keeping them out, one could make sure they got the treatment and the training they needed?

James den Boer
Washington, D. C.

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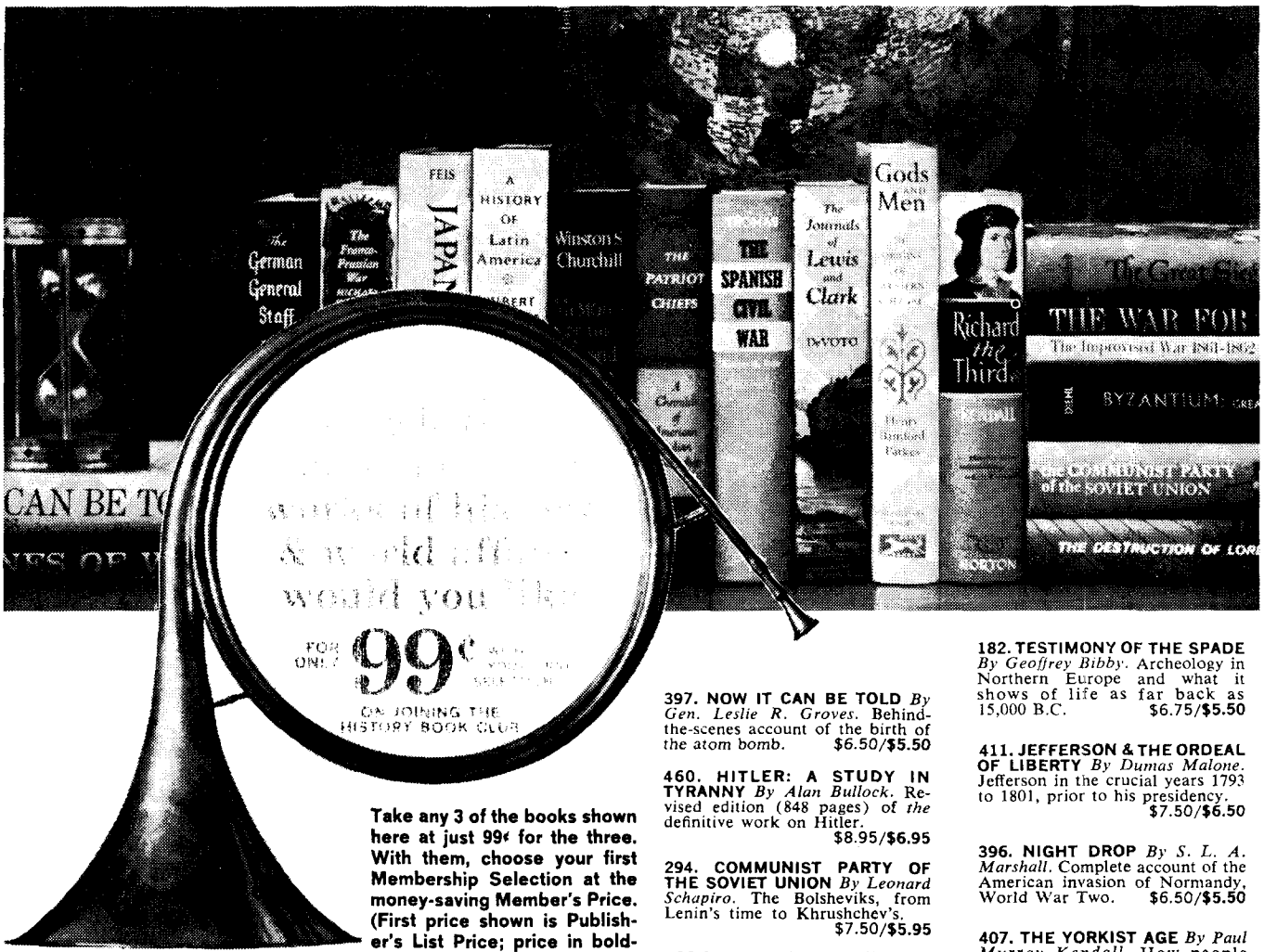

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